

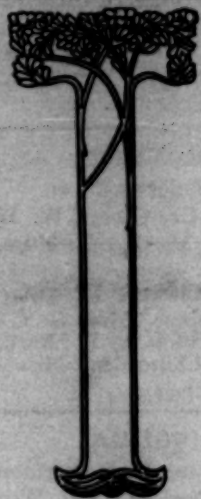
The Woman's Protest

AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Published Monthly by the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage

37 West 39th Street, New York City

Vol. 4
No. 4



A STATEMENT OF FACTS

THE FUNDAMENTAL LAWS OF
NATURE

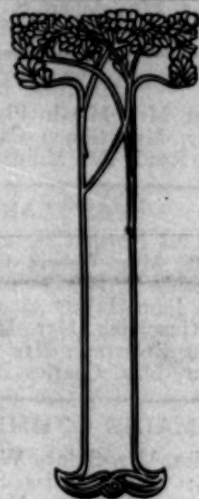
THE DARK AND DANGEROUS SIDE
OF SUFFRAGE

THE THREAT OF MILITANCY, ETC.

A MONSTROUS DOCTRINE

WHAT IS A WOMAN TO DO?

FEBRUARY
1914



Subscription, \$1.00 a Year

Single Copies, 10 cents

Entered as Second-Class Matter, May 1, 1912, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., Under the Act of March 3, 1879

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The suffragists, repeating in new form the oft disproved charge that the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage cooperates with the liquor interests, have published the report that this organization is now working with the liquor people in Montana. They base their accusation on the fact that Miss Clara E. Markeson, while in Butte, Montana, as the official representative of the National Association, called on the assistant editor of the "National Forum," a publication devoted to liquor interests, and demanded that he cease at once and entirely the publication of articles written by me, taken from the Protest or issued as our leaflets.

In other words, they claim that their assertion is proved by the fact that Miss Markeson was sent across the continent for the express purpose of telling the Montana liquor people that this organization would in no way identify itself with them and their activities!

Miss Markeson *was* sent to Montana. She *did* announce that under no circumstances would this organization make the fight against suffrage with the help of the liquor men. She spoke for the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, which would not permit itself to be stigmatized by even the appearance of such a cooperation as the suffragists charge. She did this because the National Association asserted then, as it asserts now, its right to choose the agencies with whom it shall work and to refuse to be championed by undesirable persons or groups of persons.

*Mrs. Arthur M. Dugan
President National Association
Opposed to Woman Suffrage*

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Published Monthly by

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Vol. IV.

February, 1914

No. 4

The Woman's Protest invites letters from its readers.

ACTION OF THE RULES COMMITTEE

IF a critical history is ever written of the present session of Congress the subject of Woman Suffrage may occupy a place second only to that of the tariff revision and the currency reform. Even a discussion of the income tax would be incomplete without reference to the refusal of the President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association to declare her taxable property because she couldn't vote.

Not a week has passed that the Suffragists have not made some kind of a "descent" upon Washington, and now that the great effort is over nothing remains but the memory of vain longings and many regrets. It seems to have been a case of much cry and very little wool. It all began with the National Woman Suffrage Association's Convention, which met in Washington for the purpose of coercing Congress into passing an amendment to the Federal Constitution admitting women to the franchise. It ended with the despairing cry of the President of the International Association: "Since the Constitution stands in our way, let's tear it up."

The convention effervesced and congealed. One day it was red with rage, the next pale from the same cause. It is not to be wondered at then that dissension arose in the ranks. And although this division was known only to a few women in the innermost ring, each side regards the schism as irreparable.

The most important feature of the "March on Congress" was the hearing before the Rules Committee. The story of that battle has already been told in the January PROTEST. The suffragists presented their arguments on December 3d. *The National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage* was given a hearing on December 4th, and on the afternoon of the 5th the Suffragists were heard in rebuttal by a greatly diminished committee and a rapidly thinning crowd of auditors.

It was not until January 17th that the Rules Committee met for a vote on the proposed measure. The vote was adverse.

Suffragists, through their supporters in the House, asked for a caucus of the Democratic members of that body. This could only be secured by a call signed by fifty members. This number was finally secured, and on February 2d the caucus, by a vote of 127 to 53, adopted a resolution declaring the question of Woman Suffrage to be a State matter and not one for Federal action. This is in harmony with President Wilson's position that female suffrage is a State and not a Federal issue. Finally, on February 4th, the Democratic leaders in the House of Representatives made it plain that advocates of the cause of Woman Suffrage need expect no favors from the party now in power. The House leader, Mr. Underwood, stated the position emphatically when he said:

"If there is one fundamental principle that my party stands for it is local self-government. If the Democratic Party stands for one thing above all others, it is that the right of franchise

should be governed by the States of the Union and not by the National Government."

In the Senate the Suffragists fared no better, even with their special committee of which a majority are Suffragists. And here their undoing was largely due to the excessive zeal of their own advocate. Senator Ashurst of Arizona having prepared the committee's report, asked the privilege of making a few remarks. When his "few remarks" were concluded some three hours afterward the time had passed for a vote, and the Alaska Railway bill was taken up. It never even came to a vote, and probably never will. It remains but a report to be filed in the archives of lost opportunity.

Other efforts of the Suffragists also suffered disaster. The first of these was the persistent and altogether fruitless attempts to coerce President Wilson to advocate publicly and in his messages Federal action on the subject of Woman Suffrage. The first demand was made on November 18, 1913, when the New Jersey Suffragists to the number of 75, through their representative, McCoy, asked for an appointment with the President. Representative McCoy reported that the President had promised to consider the matter and let them know in a few hours, but this did not satisfy the spirits of the New Jersey contingent and they marched on the White House demanding an audience at once. The President would have denied a body of voters, but with unflinching courtesy he laid aside weightier matters of state that were pressing and capitulated to the extent of receiving the ladies and shaking hands all around. He did not accede to their request, however, to incorporate a Woman Suffrage recommendation in his message. Dr. Anna Shaw is reported to have grimly remarked, "It would have been a good thing for the President and his party if he had."

On December 8th the Suffragists again stormed the White House, militant in their determination to force the President to come out for Woman Suffrage and advocate Federal action in his message.

Ill and at risk of health and life the President again received the persistent delegates. He refused, however, their plea to discuss the issue in his message and told the women that he must confine himself to those things which were embodied as promises to the people at the election; in other words, embodied in his party platform.

Once again, on February 2d, three hundred women who represented themselves as wage-earners made a pilgrimage to Washington to demand some recognition of the cause by the President. He received the delegation but still refused to act in the matter. Incidentally it might be said that his conviction not to interfere on this subject, even at the request of three hundred wage-earning women whom he especially regards, might have been somewhat strengthened by the fact that a few hours before the deputation waited on him he had received a telegram from the Wage Earners' Anti-Suffrage League of New York, which numbers 3,000 members, asking him to consider them before taking action favorable to a cause which promised to place further burdens upon them.

It may have been these many defeats that has finally brought the Suffragists to the point of announcing a relentless persecution of any candidate for office, however able he may be, who does not declare in favor of Woman Suffrage.

Thus it is sought to make Woman Suffrage universal in the country by persecution and by a conscienceless misuse of the ballot.

Such an attitude can only work harm to the cause of Woman Suffrage. The men of this country are not to be driven into any action because a small minority of women threaten them.

Meanwhile *The Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage* stands ready to send into any and all districts so threatened speakers and literature, and will support for re-election a candidate whose only disqualification is opposition to Woman Suffrage.

THE FUNDAMENTAL LAWS OF NATURE

By LOUISE ROBERTSON

THE welfare of Humanity, the best development of men and women should be the fundamental ideal, the dominant motive of each member of society. It is the reason for common law, the reason for the judiciary and military departments of the state. Laws should not be made for the individual, but for the benefit of all the people, and although the individual may sometimes suffer indirectly because of the law, he gains directly through the protection that is afforded by that same law. It should be, and is, the aim of every good citizen to maintain law and order, to see that the laws are good for the majority of the people and to administer the law to the utmost, even though much suffering must be inflicted in so doing.

The laws of nature cannot be violated by the individual without a sequence of suffering, and it is through the punishment of the individual that nature protects the majority. Undoubtedly the individual resents the lack of freedom and the punishment, and considers the suffering a gross injustice. But a little broader outlook would convince him that the life force, Nature, must be utterly ruthless in the treatment of any interference with the great task of development for all the Human Race, and that disobedience must be punished.

Everywhere that we find life we find sex or sex elements, and the great law that must be considered, where the development of the race is concerned, is the law of sex. There must be men and women, male and female, with their distinct functions and attributes. The question of equality does not arise in nature. Each sex is equally necessary and yet entirely distinct in functions which cannot be exchanged. If we admit that sex and sex laws must continue to exist, we cannot deny the value and importance of sex attraction; that inestimable influence and force which is the nucleus of life, the motive for all acquisition, for all sacrifice, of all social life. Knowing this we must at once realize that the perfect development of men and women must be through their common struggle, through their work together, as their interests cannot be separated. And we must realize also that they must remain in harmony with the great laws if they attain that development.

Women need men to complete their full development. They need their strength and protection so that they can devote their strength and intelligence to those matters which result from their special functional work.

This is as much a law of nature as it is also one that men are dependent upon women for those qualities which balance the masculine aggressiveness and necessary brutality. One has only to glance at the lives of men isolated from the companionship of women—and the responsibility of caring for women—and one realizes that they lack somewhat in the perfect unfolding of their characters. And a slight investigation of the lives and homes of women entirely without the association and stimulus of the opposite sex, will show that they have not become the splendid, broadminded and sympathetic or physically well developed women they might have been, had their faculties been developed in companionship with and service to men. This result would be more noticeable where the lack of natural conditions had continued through a lifetime or the greater part of a lifetime. It would be difficult to imagine what the result to men and women would be if it were possible to continue such isolation through several generations.

Every woman worthy of the name knows that the most beautiful thing life holds for her is the creation of another life, and she knows that in this creation she cannot be alone, even though she be able to accomplish independent sustenance afterwards. The creation must be co-operative, and the subsequent nourishment and education should be, for the best development of the new life, co-operative. Any one of this triple, yet united life must suffer if deprived of the protection and cherishing consideration of the other two. Not only in the physical development of each is this true, but even to a greater degree is it true of the ethical and spiritual life, the evolution of the character. This ideal existence can only result from perfect co-operation. Strife and dissensions, irresponsible indifference, the exchange of attributes pertaining to sex can but destroy that which should be ideal. Individual cases which one occasionally sees prove that the exceptions would not make a fair standard for the masses—would in extended practice be disastrous.

Women know that to make this creative and ideal life probable they are endowed with the attraction of sex, and that through it they possess infinite power for good or evil. They can demand honor and chivalry for themselves, sacrifice and protection for the lives they create, or they can debase this power of sex attraction to the lowest of brutal impulses. Together they rise or together they fall, but it must be together in strength or weakness.

There is a tendency among women to depreciate this fact of sex and sex attraction. This is a false attitude and must result in hypocrisy and deception. It would be better to accept the fact as an absolutely fundamental law of nature and make use of this power to attain the highest and purest relationship in life by consecrating it to the service for which nature intended its use.

Men make every effort, strain every nerve, endure every sacrifice to create and maintain homes, that their women may put into and keep in their lives the qualities which they lack. The entire reward of their labor they find in the restful comfort, the spiritual and physical refreshment, in the love and companionship of wife and children in the home. For this home men will fight unto death, if need be, and it is their privilege to do so. Men who have not this incentive to labor and accomplishment, this restraint and uplift of character and this companionship and rest from labor, will not develop to that perfect manhood which is their divine right. The responsibility to make, maintain and protect the home calls forth in men the traits of character women need to complete their natures, to supplement the quiet peace and contentment needful for the home in which she nourishes and develops the children they have created and co-operatively sustain.

Whatever interferes with the full development of men and women cannot rightfully be held as an ideal of value to humanity. Therefore it must follow that an ideal which destroys the home destroys the race.

Women undoubtedly can meet any emergency that confronts them, and, notwithstanding the handicap of feminine physique and dress, can become successful lawyers, doctors, carpenters, plumbers, policemen, jurors and soldiers, but in developing characteristics of mind and body needful to success in any department outside of the home, they must of necessity acquire

so-called masculine traits of character and aggressiveness, harshness of judgment and intense pursuit of self-interest that will dominate or destroy the feminine qualities of gentleness, sympathy and self-sacrifice.

It has been said that women have a right to attain their utmost development and that the limited routine of the home is not the place for this attainment, and therefore, women should be admitted to all fields of labor. What industry offers as much variety of employment as the home, or as many opportunities for different accomplishments and recreation? It is true there is no excitement of the street or clatter of strange tongues in its peaceful and healthful occupations. And is this lack of excitement perhaps the reason the home is said to be limited in opportunity and in outlook upon life? But if women choose, for their own pleasure, to enter into competition with men, have they the right to do so unless in extreme necessity? Do women realize that as they become self-supporting they are depriving men of the right to support them, relieving them of a divine and necessary responsibility. Women in business realize, if other women do not, that the contact of the sexes in business puts the best man at a great disadvantage, through his chivalry and desire to protect and shield the woman, not from hardship so much as from the coarsening or destruction of her feminine qualities, which to him are of inestimable value. To hurt her or defeat her in the commercial battle destroys in himself the fineness of his manhood, and also he must suffer from the personal contact. Women should realize and admit frankly, that this severe physical and nervous strain is a tax upon the strength and character of men (and some women) through the attraction of sex, or the unnatural subordination of sex.

The strain and shock to the masculine attributes of chivalry, honor, sense of protection and idealization of women, and the suppression of these instincts, is the gravest injustice to men; and women should hesitate before they destroy those characteristics which are the most valuable that men possess. Their destruction must make men indifferent to the welfare of women and more and more willing that they should fight their own battles and maintain their offspring, if they should have any.

Have women any right to destroy in men those qualities which it has taken so long for civilization to develop, the qualities which raise them above the male brute?

It is true there are an unfortunate few of each sex, intellectual celibates—who do not understand or appreciate the power of sex. They are to be congratulated only upon escaping the keenest joys and the deepest sorrows. It is doubtful if they can be said to really live. Surely they cannot be held up as a race standard.

Noble women know that they have not the right to be less than true women—and they cannot hope to be more. There is no higher attainment, no greater power for good than a noble, highly educated, broadminded woman fulfilling her sex obligations. Such a woman does not want to come into competition with men, even though convinced that she could defeat them at every turn. She has no desire to conquer men or subdue them. She wants them to be strong and successful and masculine, for therein lies her success. Nor for her temporary aggrandizement or visionary comfort is she willing to sacrifice and destroy that love and idealizing chivalry which is the motive for all sacrifice, service, inspiration and endeavor. She would avoid at all cost that sex antagonism which must result if men would retain their splendid manhood.

When men lose the chivalry and honor inspired by sex responsibility, and contemplate would-be sexless women trespassing upon their rights, it is to be hoped and expected that they will resent the aggression and become brutes, if need be—but men surely—who will dominate and save the race. Men revert very easily to the savage state and undoubtedly nature will make this demand in defense of her own interests.

If through strenuous training and the sacrifice of the claims

of sex, women can enter and succeed in the keener and closer competition which her advent into the industries must create, what has she gained for herself and others? Her individuality? Her liberty? What is that? The dominant call of sex will still be there, and she finds that she is undesirable as a mate for a strong, successful man. Such a man has the traits of character she has developed and his mate must have the feminine characteristics to complete his own. She therefore finds herself a capable supporter of weaklings, a fate not very enviable when the sacrifice of her true nature, her womanliness, with all that means has been the price.

A young man who had seen much of the world, commenting upon the strident demand for "more liberty for women" made by a beautiful suffragist, said: "Oh you women, how we men wish you would demand, not more liberty for women, but less liberty for men." Therein lay man's acknowledgment of woman's power, and the real need felt by men for her demand for better men. Through their ethical and spiritual power women can create a force greater than physical force, the tremendous power of public opinion, and through that they can make and administer laws, and men will be *with* them, not against them, and unless men unite with them, women can accomplish nothing but the tragedy of sex antagonism or indifference. Women know that men grant them anything that they demand, although not always without opposition. And it takes courage and moral stamina and a strong will to demand that right shall prevail, not only for women but for men. Have women shown in the past that they possess these qualities in greater degree than men? There seems to be no evidence that they have or that they lately have developed more rapidly than men. Then why assume that if given the franchise they will be stronger and more efficient in politics than they are in the home or in society. Nothing can be gained by making laws if in private life women condone the errors, or assist in committing the sins which in public they condemn. All laws, to be of value, must have public opinion back of them, and that opinion is created largely by women in social life and in the home. Wherein is the advantage to the commonwealth of granting "votes to women?" The consideration must not be what it will mean to women but what it will mean to men also—to all the citizens of the state.

Over ninety per cent. of the women of the United States know that the franchise is theirs for the asking, but they do not want it, because men acting as their agents are capable of governing the state, and it is their business to do so, their responsibility and their necessity, as it is only right it should be. For men to share the vote with women must double the political burden for men, unless women also share the political field. When women do that they become no more, no less, than political units without the physical force the vote indicates and without the moral force that was theirs by right of their womanhood and freedom from "political pull."

This tremendous majority of women who appreciate the privileges of sex, do not want to deprive men of their rights and they do not want to be deprived of their own right to be women, fulfilling to the utmost the duties laid upon them as attributes of the Divine Law of sex. They demand that women shall not have the franchise because they believe that, ignoring their individual injustices, it is better for men and their children, better for humanity, that the attributes and responsibilities of the sexes shall remain distinctly masculine and feminine.

When men fail to solve the problems of government, when they fail to co-operate with women in maintaining the high ideals which women keep before them, when it is for the good of men and the commonwealth, then this great majority of women will not hesitate to assume the burdens of men, because men will no longer be worthy of consideration. However, that situation will never arise, inasmuch as these women will not bear and educate such men.

"THE DARK AND DANGEROUS SIDE OF SUFFRAGE"

ACCORDING to the following statements we realize that while Suffragists advocate economic independence for all women, and regard the profession of mothering as a handicap in the march of progress, while they would abolish marriage, which is our only sheet-anchor to moral decency and the one thing which stands for protection of the child and its legal and honorable name, while they continue to undervalue the great work which is theirs, and theirs alone, just so long will the country be bankrupt of stability and drift farther and farther away from the bed-rock of reality until chaos becomes revolution.

G. M. Godden, in a letter to the *Times*, directs attention to the class of literature which is disbursed by suffrage organizations. In this letter he states: "An examination of this literature proves that the so-called suffrage movement is deeply involved in an unnatural and indecent agitation that is quite distinct from purely political aims. The diffusion of such literature largely accounts, I submit, for the epidemic of hysteria with attendant symptoms of the loss of the normal sense of decency." He further goes on to say that he could not ask a decent paper to print full quotations from pamphlets he had read—"but their utterances are sufficient to justify every word written by Mrs. Humphrey Ward concerning *'The Dark and Dangerous Side of Suffrage.'*"

Quoted Statements of Suffragists and Socialists.

"The highest sphere of woman is not the home, but independence. The girl who is earning a good salary is unwise and a coward if she gives up her position to marry any man."

—Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, Suffragist Leader.

"Marriage is a mistake made to appease society. It is mummery."—Mrs. Rosalind G. Winslow, Socialist.

"The woman should have as much to do in the house as the man—no more."

—Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Suffragist Leader.

"Goethe wasted the warmth of his heart and the enthusiasm of his great soul on one woman after another; why then do you ridicule the great soul among women? Let us suppose that every woman were a Lucretia Floriana; that all her children were the children of love, but that those children were brought up with true motherly devotion, as well as with intelligence and good sense—doubtless the world would go on as before and progress as before."—Quotation by a woman writer given by August Bebel in order to enforce his views.—(Socialist).

"In the choice of love woman is as free as man. Human beings must be in a position to act freely where their strongest impulse is concerned. No one has to give an account of himself or herself, and no third person has the slightest right of intervention."—Excerpt from "Woman in the Future," by Jennie Ashley, former Secretary, National Suffrage Association.

"If woman suffrage in capitalist countries is anything it is the breath of the social revolution."—Daniel DeLeon, Socialist.

"Just because a human being happens to be a woman, it does not follow that housekeeping is her vocation. There are legions of women who are not fitted to keep house and never could be. On the other hand there are plenty of men who would, and do make good cooks and waiters. The only solution is to give woman absolute economic independence and to make house-keeping human work, not merely woman's work."

—Helen Ware Dennett, Secretary, National Suffrage Association.

"No two social movements ever had so much in common as woman suffrage and Socialism."

—Barnet Braverman, Socialist Writer.

"There is a sweeter word than mother, home and heaven—that word is liberty!"—Inscription on suffrage banner carried in Syracuse, N. Y., parade.

"45 per cent. of the woman vote in Los Angeles was cast for Harriman, Socialist candidate for Mayor of that city."

—New York *Call*, Socialist Paper.

"One million Socialists work and vote for woman suffrage."—Inscription on banner carried in New York Suffrage parade.

"This pressure toward a constantly growing freedom on the part of the sex means that, in the long run, the institutions most certain to be changed are the home and marriage itself."

—Inez Milholland Boissevain, Suffragist Leader.

"The bourgeois family will vanish as a matter of course when its complement vanishes, and both will vanish with the vanishing of capital."—Karl Marx, Socialist.

"I would make motherhood a Government institution. I would pension all mothers and have them provided for by the State. I believe that motherhood should be independent of any man."—Rev. Dr. Anna Shaw, President National Suffrage Association.

"The present marriage ceremony will be abolished together with all other useless and ridiculous ceremonies when Socialism is established."—Meta L. Stern, Secretary Socialist Women's Committee.

"Women are slaves, every one of them, whether prostitutes held unwillingly or gone willingly astray; whether submissive wife or rebellious virgin."—Jennie Ashley, Suffragist Leader.

"Socialist woman, your cause to-day stands in greater need of your deeds than ever before. Who but you can take up the sacred cause of the proletarian woman and make her what she should be, a class-conscious fighter for political and economic freedom. Take a piece of paper this very instant and write upon it, 'I am ready to help organize a Socialist-Suffrage club.'"—New York *Call*, Socialist paper.

"Any woman who allows her father, her brother or even her husband to be the only wage earner in the family is no better than a paid woman of the streets."—Mrs. Philip Snowden, Suffragist.

Chas. Edward Russell, Socialist candidate for mayor in New York, was chairman of a Pankhurst meeting in that city.

"It is quite possible that if eastern States continue to deny enfranchisement to women, the women thus discriminated against will find even militancy justifiable."

—Mrs. J. Brennan, Daughter of Chas. A. Dana.

"No, the present demonstrations in England are not hysterical, they are perfectly calm and deliberately planned. The suffragists realize their fight must be won by revolution, and their demonstrations are justifiable."—Inez Milholland Boissevain.

"Whether women will purify politics, uplift man or stand for a higher moral tone is quite beside the question."

—Mrs. Horton Pope, Suffrage Leader.

The monthly organ of the Church League of Woman Suffrage published an article by Maude Royden, officer of a suffrage organization, headed "Woman and the Vote," in which she argues that women at present live under despotism and advocates certain practices which are now subject to criminal prosecution in every civilized country in the world.

THE THREAT OF MILITANCY IN WASHINGTON

(From San Francisco *Argonaut*, Jan. 17, 1914)

(WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENCE)

WITH the suffragettes storming the doors of the Capitol and demanding an amendment to the constitution to give all the women in this country the right to vote, members of the House and Senate are not looking forward to the next few months with tranquillity.

Arrayed in heated controversy on opposite sides of the subject of equal suffrage here in the capital are two of America's most prominent women, thus lending to the battle for the ballot a social significance more pronounced than the cause of "Votes for Women" has heretofore possessed in this country. There is already a prospect that this alignment of Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, the leader of one of the most exclusive sets in the capital, against suffrage, and Mrs. Medill McCormick, equally prominent in the West in favor of equal suffrage, may go further and establish camps of the "pros" and "antis" and resolve into two equally pronounced social factions. Mrs. Dodge, who is president of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, believes that Mrs. McCormick and the Woman's Suffrage Association have thrown off all pretense of concealment and embarked frankly on a course of militancy similar to the British suffragettes.

In a recent statement Mrs. McCormick made the following assertion:

"The women will be organized to do effective work in all of the congressional districts to oppose any primaries and elections of those candidates for Congress who do not endorse the suffrage amendment to the constitution."

In reply to this Mrs. Dodge charges the suffragettes of the East with launching upon a campaign of militancy, pointing out that Dr. Anna Shaw supports this belief when she advises all women to resist the collection of the income tax. Mrs. Dodge says:

"Mrs. McCormick openly avows the intention of the suffragettes to have no consideration for and to take no interest in integrity in politics, wisdom in statesmanship, or serious concern for the welfare of the country. The equal franchise, according to her, takes precedence over everything."

"Those women who already have the right to vote are instructed to regard nothing except whether or not a candidate will do what the suffragettes demand. Here is the militancy of the ballot instead of the militancy of a brick."

"We are opposed to woman suffrage and fear that there may be some who have failed to realize all that Mrs. McCormick's statement demands of women. It calls for nothing more or less than a relentless persecution by the suffragists of any man, however able he may be, who does not accede to what they demand."

"Thus it is sought to make woman suffrage universal in this country by persecution and by a conscienceless misuse of the ballot. That is, the advocates of "Votes for Women" take the position that any means justifies the end—an exact reproduction of the militant attitude in England. Militancy's general theory is to spare nobody."

There are growing evidences of militancy in Washington. The suffragettes have been angered repeatedly by the satirical attacks of Representative Hefflin of Alabama, who never lets pass an opportunity to point out the foibles of the suffrage movement. These speeches, however, angered the suffragettes, and as a result they are now massing their forces at the doors of Congress determined to coerce the members into voting for an amendment to the constitution.

For a long time it was contended by the suffrage advocates

that no amendment to the constitution was necessary; that the organic law of the United States did not specify that voting should be confined to males, and that there was no reason why the states should not proceed to pass laws entitling all the women to the ballot. Lately, however, the leaders of the suffrage movement have concluded that the process of getting all the states in line for equal suffrage is apt to be fraught with many difficulties, and to extend over a full generation. They feel that it will be just as easy to force Congress to pass the necessary resolution calling for an amendment to the constitution as it will be to get any one legislature of the big Eastern states to enfranchise the women of that state.

As a result there has been much study of the constitution by the members of the House and Senate. They find that the fifteenth amendment to the constitution specifically provides that:

"The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States Congress or by any state on account of the race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

The senators from suffrage states in connection with this amendment point out that the fourteenth amendment defines "citizens" as follows:

"All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside."

"No state shall make nor enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States nor shall any state deprive any citizen of life, liberty, or property without due process of law nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

In view of the fact that the constitution says that the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged and previously defined a citizen as "a person born or naturalized in the United States," that it is clear the framers of the constitution did not mean to prohibit women from voting. This is the argument of those who favor woman suffrage.

Senators and representatives opposed to granting women the vote point out, however, that the fifteenth amendment specifically provides that the right of citizens to vote should not be denied or abridged "on account of the race, color, or previous condition of servitude." It did not say, however, that the right of citizens to vote "shall not be denied or abridged on account of sex." This may seem like hair-splitting, but the Supreme Court has frequently held that when an act specifies certain things which are prohibited, other things not specified are exempted from the application of the law. In other words, in specifying the various discriminations which are prohibited, it is presumed that all other discriminations might be possible.

If the purpose of the fifteenth amendment was merely to prevent discrimination of any kind, it is held that it would have read as follows:

"The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States Congress or any state."

Even then, however, a person would have to have the right to vote under the laws of the state in which he lived before there could be any denial of that right or abridgement of it. The whole question of what the framers of the constitution intended, however, seems to be settled by section 2 of the fourteenth amendment, which reads as follows:

"Representatives shall be apportioned among the several states according to their respective numbers, counting the whole

number of persons in that state, excluding Indians, not taxed, but when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, representatives in Congress, or executive and judicial officers of the state or the members of the legislature thereof is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such state being twenty-one years of age and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such states."

This whole question of the right of the states to govern their own elections and to grant the franchise to women is likely to figure very largely during the balance of the present session of Congress.

E. H.

More Work for Women

WHEN a man and woman enter into a life partnership, it has been up to a recent time, and still is on the part of most, supposed that it involves reciprocal cares and duties. The man is to go out into the world and by his labor in some form become the provider for the family. This, whether he enters a profession, goes into business, or becomes a handicraftsman, requires in greater or less degree preparation, and for success, close attention to and mastering of what he undertakes. The woman is supposed to run the household affairs, in the best and most economical way, and to bring up the children to be the moral, law-abiding, self-respecting, home-loving members of the community, which nothing but the love and care of a devoted mother can accomplish, and which is the most important and exacting work upon which any one can enter.

While the man's side of the partnership has always, as we have said, been thought to require study and preparation, it has been very generally the case that women have entered upon their part of the work with little or no knowledge of its requirements, and have fallen into the habit of shifting their duties, with a light and perfunctory supervision, upon nurses, servants and teachers, while they gave themselves up to amusements, careers of some sort, and now many of them to politics and public life.

How much does the average girl who is married know of what child-bearing involves, of essential pre-natal care, of the diseases, nurture and proper instruction and development of children? How much does she know of housekeeping as a business, something of which she ought to have a perfect mastery, in order to fulfill honestly and honorably her side of the contract she has made? She should understand markets, and marketing wholesale and retail. She should know food values and the proportion in which the different nutritive properties should be provided; she should understand thoroughly the best and most economical ways of preparing and cooking food, and she should look carefully after the character and amount of everything that comes into her house to see that it is what it purports to be, as well as to insure the delivery of the quantity for which she pays. If she is able to have servants, she should know how to care for them in such a way that they will be healthy, cheerful and willing, well provided for and contented in their work.

The need of this domestic knowledge and careful supervision has been strikingly brought out in a recent publication of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. As the result of some official investigations in New Jersey, it is said:

"A proprietor of one of Atlantic City's leading hotels complained that he was being systematically victimized and robbed

by his help and by merchants with whom he dealt. He was at a loss as to what course to pursue to bring about a change for the better. I suggested that he employ one whom he could trust to weigh all goods coming into the hotel and to check up all supplies. He acted on the suggestion and in one year effected a saving of twenty-five thousand dollars. A letter he wrote a short time ago stated that the plan was working admirably. If the housewife were to put her household on the same basis many dollars would be saved which do not purchase anything now. It is unreasonable to suppose the savings would be as great as the hotel proprietor's, but they would reach a snug figure. After all is said and done, much depends on the attitude and vigilance of the consumer." * * * "Five hundred scales, 'doctored,' were found in use in New Jersey."

"Thousands of weights were found in use short from one-half an ounce to six ounces. They were confiscated and replaced by correct ones. Does not this help the consumer? Most assuredly it does. Then, too, baskets used for the sale of fruits and vegetables were of every known size and shape, but they were always sold by the 'basket.' No capacity was mentioned, but the consumer was always under the impression he was paying for and getting half-bushel baskets, when in reality he was buying from baskets holding but twelve to fourteen quarts—a difference of from two to four quarts in favor of the dealer. Even in quart berry boxes fraud was practiced, as the boxes represented as quarts rarely held the capacity claimed for them."

The women of the country, if they attend to these matters as they should, can reduce the cost of living at least a quarter. It is estimated that many millions have been saved in New Jersey.

A "Monstrous Doctrine"

TRUTH, of Boston, prints the following editorial:

There is more truth than poetry in Prof. Sedgwick's assertion that the so-called Feminist movement, which is based on the "revolutionary biological principle" that there are no men and no women, originated with and is led by masculine women and feminine men.

It is not surprising, as he says, that these "mistakes of nature" should wish to hide their miserable abnormality behind a general belief in the sexual identity of men and women. Realizing their inability to be like other men and women, they desire to make other men and women look upon them as an improvement on the race.

"But," adds the Professor, "it is surprising that these half-women should achieve a certain leadership over many normal women, women who have all the instinctive, ineradicable feelings of wifehood and motherhood; that these half-women should be guides in what, if it is carried to its logical termination, will be the greatest revolution the human race has yet seen.

"In saying this I am not giving even the poetical assent to the hideous dream that W. L. George has of that future day when the feminist program is to be finally achieved. In his forecast he pictures the total destruction of wifehood and home, of the transportation of man, created to the image of his Maker, to the domestic status of the tomcat, of the dominance in a new society of the 'unmarried mother'—in short, universal polygamy. A generation ago this sort of doctrine was anathematized as 'free love.' To-day it is being popularized as 'feminism.' But the leopard has not changed his spots."

Woman Suffrage is certainly part of the Socialist propaganda, and Socialism means free love, which brings us again to the monstrous Feminist doctrine. Woman Suffrage leaders will deny that Suffrage and Feminism as George interprets it are identical; but when Prof. Sedgwick attacks Feminism we notice that all the Suffragist leaders in Boston come immediately to the rescue.

"What is a Woman to do?"

"WHAT is a woman to do?" The question is asked first of all by Dr. Crane, and it is repeated by three young women who write to the *New York Globe*. They seem to be nice young women, not only because they write anonymously, but because their letter is a good one. Here are its salient passages:

"We are three girls, friends, of the Jewish faith, good family, educated, American birth, modest, home-loving, handy and economical. Also sufficiently equipped in refinement and intellectuality to mingle in any society. Our ages range from twenty-one to twenty-five. I might further add that we are of attractive personality, and with due modesty would say that we appeal to the male sex as friends; but somehow it seems the young men of to-day are more eager to pursue wealth than qualifications that are more conducive to happiness in married life."

Now, strange as it may seem, there are some things that are not jokes, and this is among them. It may seem still stranger to suggest that there are some evils that are not wholly the fault of women, and, once more, this is among them. To their infinite credit these young women wish to be married, and we wish that we were in a position to marry them, all of them. They seem to be unable to marry, and this in its turn is to the infinite discredit of men in general. And of course we are assuming that the letter in question is a statement of facts.

Naturally there are faults on both sides. There always are. Moreover, it may be said that the faults are always moral faults. There is no such thing as a social evil without a moral evil at its base. Men are disinclined to marry because they are too selfish to marry, and they are too selfish to marry because all the forces of modern life have combined to teach them that selfishness is the greatest of all the virtues. Church, school and home have combined in this hideous work, and the whole cargo of iniquity is due to the filtering downward of a materialistic science which has dethroned the moral law and set up the golden calf in its place. We have been taught that "self-preservation is the first law of life," and that we must "take care of No. 1," until at last we have begun to believe it, and so the young man of to-day is asking himself if marriage is consonant with either of these exalted precepts and he decides that it is not. He thinks that there is an "easier way." Of course it is very wrong of him. He ought to be tarred and feathered, and doubtless will be when the constitution has been amended to that effect by Dr. Anna Shaw. But whose fault is it? There are to-day millions of people who have been elaborately taught, first by science, then by the church, and then by the home, that an act of unselfish duty is a folly, and that there are no obligations except to one's self. It may now be said to be the root principle of modern life. The young man who does not marry becomes the creator of vice conditions, of the vice traffic, and of the underworld. Why should not he do these things? His parents taught him. His mother said that he must always take care of No. 1, and that his own pleasure was the most important thing in the world, and that he must always have what he wants. She herself learned it at the college where she was taught by the science professor that selfishness was the law of life, although it was called by the more decent word of self-preservation. And the church never contradicted it. Of course no one thought that the boy would translate it into just this form, and his mother at this moment is probably shrieking for laws against the underworld. She helped to create it when her boy was in frocks. His father took up the devil's work later on. And the college supplied the coping-stone and the benediction.

But the fault is not wholly with men. In all seriousness it may be said that men are beginning to be afraid of women,

afraid lest their wives should decide to accept the leadership of such persons as Dr. Shaw, Mrs. Belmont, Mrs. Boissevain and Mrs. Pankhurst. Women do not repudiate these unpleasant people. Apparently they are willing to accept them. They seem disposed to be taught that men are the natural enemies of women, their oppressors and traducers, and that there is a feud between the sexes. Men do not want to marry a woman who may at any moment decide to agree with Mrs. Boissevain that ten minutes a day is sufficient for housework. Neither men nor women nowadays have much power of thought. The women of whom we hear every day through the newspapers are breathing out fire and flame against men. They are declaring a sex war. Possibly never before in the history of the race have there been so many expressions of contempt for women as one may hear at the present day wherever men are gathered together. In very truth there is a sex war now in progress, and it is the innocent women, the womanly women, who are the chief sufferers. But why do they allow judgment against them to go by default? Why do they not protest? There we have a partial answer to the question, "What is a woman to do?" There is nothing for her to do except to protest and to accept the retribution that nature never fails to inflict upon those who violate her laws.—*The Argonaut*.

A Revolution in Finland

A SHORT characterization of conditions in Finland under woman suffrage is quoted from the *Kreuzzeitung* (Berlin) in the December number of the monthly published by the German Anti-Suffrage League. A translation reads thus:

A pleasant state of affairs seems to prevail in Finland. A school teacher draws (among other observations) the following picture of present conditions there. "The electoral franchise for women, which has been established here, has brought about a complete upheaval in political and also in family life. Politics are the main issue everywhere. Popular assemblies are much frequented; the major part of the participants are women and girls, who take an active share in speaking and passing resolutions. Even in the schools the pupils talk politics. Every day I am told by children and adults, 'no restraint under any circumstances!' The ladies of the Finnish Parliament are a group recruited from all classes, in which domestic servants also hold seats. The latter are met with at all meetings, and take a prominent part. The most difficult political, economical and educational problems are solved in the turn of a hand. Formerly we were obliged to handle the children with velvet gloves; now we dare not even look askance at them. Home-study is tabooed. Nor may we drill the children in any way, but merely infuse knowledge playfully, with the utmost amiability. Everything is topsy-turvy here. Domestic servants consider themselves better than their employers, and leave everything in the lurch when an assembly is convened. The newspapers report that in Germany public meetings are not much frequented; here there is no lack of attendance. Under these circumstances family life naturally suffers; marriages, births and social reunions in the family are decreasing. Cooking, dressmaking, household tasks and the like are almost repudiated. Everything hinges on politics, on the rights of women, on the creation of new positions for women and girls. Work in the home has sunk to a thing of no importance. The one desire of every woman is, like a man, to hold a position in an office, to work only six hours a day, to take active part in public life, to belong to Parliament and the city government, to have something to say and to deliver addresses on every matter. Any one who was here twenty years ago and comes back now cannot recognize Finland.

Miss Shaw's Approach to Militant Tactics

DR. ANNA SHAW will not help her cause by refusal to pay the income tax. Not only will she be compelled to pay it, by distraint or otherwise, but she will also furnish an object lesson in her own incapacity for political life, an object lesson to which the public is likely to give some careful attention.

New York is among the states where women have not yet been enfranchised, and so Dr. Shaw announces that she will be a law-breaker because she is not yet allowed to be a law-maker. A capacity to keep the law is usually supposed to be the one supreme essential to the franchise. It is practically the only test imposed upon the new citizen, while disfranchisement is a part of the penalties inflicted upon crime. But Dr. Shaw proposes to demonstrate her fitness to vote by defying a federal statute, and she will doubtless feel a fresh sense of grievance when reminded that her action is a direct proof of political incapacity. Objecting strongly to be classed with idiots and criminals as electoral incompetents, she seems anxious to prove both her idiocy and her criminality.

Now does any one suppose for a moment that this instant appeal to lawlessness would be confined to the matter of the vote?—*Exchange*.

"Subjection," "Humiliation," "Inferiority;" "SHAW!"

(Extract from Worcester, Mass., *Gazette*, November 5, 1913.)

I WANT to say to American men that the men of no other nation have subjected their women to the humiliation that is the lot of the American women of to-day. French women are governed by laws made by French men; Austrian women by laws made by Austrian men; German women by laws made by German men, and so through almost every country of the globe, but the American women are governed by laws made by every kind of man under the sun. There is not a nation, not a class, not a race of men that is not represented in the making of laws under which the American woman must live. To my mind it is the most criminal of crimes that this should be so.

"The position of women to-day is the result of centuries of subjection, of centuries of assumed inferiority and of presumed superiority. What we want, and what we are slowly but surely achieving is the right to work directly and intelligently, not independently of the men, but along with them."—ANNA HOWARD SHAW.

Dr. Shaw Preaches the New Gospel of "Street Cleaning for Women"

"WOMEN AT THE BROOM"

THIS does not sound like an unheard-of suggestion, at first, but it seems that it is not merely a dismal repetition of the out-worn theory that women should clean the inside of the house, and sweep diligently; not at all, she should sweep the streets.

In the congenial surroundings of a magnificent hotel, the natural forum for the debate of great housekeeping problems, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw resented fiercely the assertion of Mr. Bourke Cockran that women would not be able to do the heavy work of sweeping the streets. "I maintain that women could sweep the streets much better than men," said Dr. Shaw. She went on to give details of what she had once written to the Commissioner of Street Cleaning in Philadelphia, and what he had said in reply, together with some remarks about the methods of street cleaning in Paris. But a careful reading of her remarks fails to record anything to justify

her thesis that women would sweep the streets of New York more efficiently than men excepting her simple say-so.

But her remarks seemed to be wholly adequate and satisfying to the assembly of some thousand beautifully dressed suffragists who listened to them. Inasmuch as these ladies are classified in the reports as a "fashionable audience, whose ushers included many of the season's debutantes," we may suppose that the lecture in the splendid hotel of the suffrage army was an adequate demonstration of the holiness of the street cleaning cause and of the inspired utterances of its priestesses.

But the subject seems still open to debate. It may be that if the women were not obliged to sweep inside the house, hidden away from the admiration and plaudits of the human race, they would do good work. And no doubt Dr. Shaw would appear to as great advantage as forewoman of the street cleaners as she does in vocal expression of her "views."

—Unlike Jack Spratt and Wife

From Cincinnati Commercial Tribune

She wants her "rights" to be as man in every walk of life,
She wants a part in every plan, to mix in every strife;
To bar her out because of sex is really most inhuman,
But when it comes to paying bills, she wants to be a woman.

She will not be responsible for such a thing as rent,
Her money is her own, of course, she needs it, every cent,
And as for alimony, why, no man would ever sue her,
But if betrayed 'tis only right to claim the justice due her.

She wants to run for office and she wants to make the laws.
Why does she crave to do these things? The answer is
"because."

She wants to overturn the world, and if she makes a muddle,
Mere man must extricate them both and pull them from the
puddle.

She says she wants no favor shown by reason of her sex,
Yet with a logic quite her own, her nature most complex,
Rebels when "HE," the selfish thing, sits quiet, all unheeding,
The while she stands in crowded car the "brute" continues
reading.

She wants the fat, she wants the lean, unlike Jack Spratt and
wife,
Who both did lick the platter clean; but in our modern life,
Progressive woman wants the earth, her nature effervescent,
Demands all things, and man, mere man, will please remain—
quiescent.

A Return to Conscienceless State of Society

WHAT is the Feminist movement accomplishing politically? It is accomplishing that great feat known as "destroying confidence." It is breaking up the confidence on which all alliances between men and women have hitherto depended. "A fig for my share of the contract!" say Feminists. And how about the other share? Aren't the doors going to open on the masculine side too? Or do the Feminists fancy that they can open the door on their own side only? That can't be done. If the door is to open and the unwritten law between man and woman to be put aside, it does not, cannot, mean advance for woman. What it does mean is decadence for the whole race, for we may confidently assume that men will not longer respect a convention which women repudiate. In this return to a lawless and conscienceless state of society, the Feminist sees a great opportunity for woman. The Anti-Feminist sees only a general degradation for all with woman in physical and moral subjection to man.

Feminists are all busy these days telling the "truth about women." We would advise them, for woman's sake, not to advertise the infamy of some women further. That some women lack moral sense and "maternal instinct" our Reform Schools and Juvenile Courts and Penitentiaries show. There is no need to proclaim the fact. But the normal woman who possesses both, resents and repudiates these so-called "studies" as one-sided and absurd. Women are human beings, neither angels nor monsters. They have to choose the higher or the lower fulfillment, just as men do. That some women decline to be bound by the duty or the honor of the feminine law of being and insist on attempting to be guided by man's law instead of her own does not alter the fact that we have our duty, and we have our honor and that only through the acceptance of these do our souls know peace.

"Every duty we omit obscures a truth we might have known."

Whether through the process of omitting duties, or through some other means, the truth is becoming so obscure in the minds of certain Feminist leaders that it looks as though they might soon lead their bewildered followers over a precipice, or against a stone wall.

Suffragists seem to fancy that a minority group of amateurs can lead politically. The minority group of amateurs will be easily manipulated by the majority group of professionals.

The Post Office Department has barred from the mails a postcard circulated by

suffragists. This card bears a reproduction of a cartoon with the phrase, "Why are the Anti-Suffragists allied with the liquor and white slave traffics?" The cartoon originally appeared in the *Saturday Evening Post*.

Suffragists Refuse to Work for Prohibition

(Chicago Tribune)

JOLIET, Ill., Jan. 21.—(Special.)—Following a mass meeting of ministers and citizens last night, the members of the Harwood Equality League of Joliet, an organization of suffragists, including many prominent women, to-day refused to co-operate in any way with the prohibitionists who began their campaign at the mass meeting. The league refused even to endorse the movement to abolish saloons in Joliet.

How the Tide Is Turning Against Suffrage

SOUTH CAROLINA REJECTS IT

Columbia, S. C., Jan. 23, 1914.—By adopting unanimously the unfavorable report of the Committee on Judiciary, the South Carolina House of Representatives has killed the bill extending the right of suffrage to women in that State. The bill also would have permitted women to practice law.

MISSISSIPPI DEFEATS IT

Jackson, Miss., Jan. 23.—The lower house of the Mississippi Legislature defeated a resolution to amend the Constitution to give full suffrage to women.

FRANCE OPPOSES IT

(By Cable to *The Tribune*, 1913)

Paris, Nov. 11.—The Chamber of Deputies, during the debate to-day on electoral reform, rejected an amendment in favor of female suffrage by 311 votes to 133.

"SUBMIT IT TO PEOPLE"

Boston, Mass., Jan. 17.—The Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Woman Suffrage filed a bill with the Clerk of the House to-day which proposes that the question of votes for women be submitted to the people for a vote.

The suffragists advocate a constitutional amendment giving women the franchise.

There's no telling how far this "votes-for-women" movement would have spread if it hadn't been sidetracked by the tango movement.—*Boston Transcript*.

A Protest Against the Harassing of Congress

THE following resolutions defining the attitude of the District of Columbia Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage towards woman suffrage and the methods employed by the Suffragists before Congress, have been adopted at a meeting of the executive committee of the Association, and it was also resolved that a copy of these resolutions be sent to each member of the Congress for their information.

Whereas, the Woman's Suffrage organizations have for the past year maintained their headquarters in the national capital, intruding their unwelcome presence on an orderly and law-abiding community, and creating an atmosphere of noisy unrest and discontent, as well as causing injury to the fair name of Washington, and

Whereas, the Suffragists are maintaining in this city a paid lobby whose sole and exclusive purpose it is to employ every means to influence our national lawmakers in the passage of such legislation as is demanded of them by the Suffragists, irrespective of the wishes of that overwhelming majority of men and women who are unalterably opposed to their revolutionary aims, and

Whereas, the Suffragists use every opportunity to harass, threaten and continuously "nag" the President of the United States and members of the Congress in their efforts to secure legislation, and

Whereas, the Suffragists in so doing seriously retard and interfere with the prompt dispatch of public business of the most vital importance to the nation, and

Whereas, legislation as demanded by the Suffragists from the Congress belongs within the prerogatives of the States, and

Whereas, the Suffragists are a negligible but turbulent minority who are trying to force a measure upon a protesting majority by unpatriotic, unfair and unconstitutional means and methods which are in direct opposition to the spirit of American liberty, justice and fairness, and

Whereas, the public conduct of the Suffragists is undignified and unwomanly, and therefore subversive of good morals;

Therefore, Be It Resolved, and it is hereby Resolved, that the District Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, and representing self-respecting and patriotic womanhood, place itself on record as condemning in the strongest terms the aims of the Suffragists and the means employed by them to attain these aims, as unwomanly, unpatriotic and detrimental to the welfare of the nation, in that they tend to weaken constituted authority, undermine the home and destroy Christian citizenship, and

Resolved, that we heartily endorse every member of the Congress who in the discharge of his sworn public duties refuses to be swerved from the path of honesty and manly conviction by threats, inducements or otherwise, and be it further

Resolved, that we pledge our united support to these honest and efficient public servants and will enlist the aid of all patriotic Americans to uphold them in their fight for the maintenance of the true spirit of American independence and liberty, and the protection of the American home, and

Resolved, that a copy of this resolution be sent to each member of the Congress (Senate and House), asking them to give it their support.

A Violation of Home Rule and Majority Rule

UNDER the heading "Protest Against the Adoption of the Equal Suffrage Amendment to the Federal Constitution, pending in Congress," the following statement was recently circulated by an Ohio man:

"It is most respectfully suggested that it is not right or fair to attempt to settle the Suffrage question in the States, by the action of the Congress and the State Legislatures as proposed by the Amendment.

"Hitherto each State for itself has been permitted to exercise the unquestioned right to control the elective franchise as to domestic affairs without suggestion or interference from the Federal Government, except in the proposal of the Fourteenth Amendment, which many worthy citizens believe was a great mistake. If it is conceded that there is a growing sentiment in favor of Universal Suffrage, is there any conclusive evidence that there is any such demand for it as will justify Congress in stepping in and initiating a scheme for settling the problem by any shorthand method without allowing those now intrusted with the franchise under the several State Constitutions to say anything directly on the question? Was any member of Congress, either Senator or Representative, elected on the Suffrage issue? If the Amendment is submitted, may not legislators vote on the question who were not elected on any such issue? Senators, Representatives and Legislators are elected on political issues, and if the voters have an interest in the question or the right to be heard, the only fair way is to submit it at the polls, where Yes or No will settle it without being confounded with any political or other issue.

"In more than sixty-five years of agitation, nine States have adopted Universal Suffrage; these States have a combined population far less than New York and little more than Pennsylvania. While we yield obedience to the Federal Constitution, we protest most earnestly and sincerely against the justice or fairness of the provisions for its amendment as applicable to the question we have under consideration.

"The glaring injustice of this provision is that each state is given equal power, regardless of its population, territorial limits or other conditions. It leaves to the politicians what ought to be done by the people. There has been no suggestion of any imminent danger or emergency that will justify a scheme to break down and destroy the rights of the States to deal separately with this important question.

"The population of Nevada is 81,875, while New York has a population more than one hundred and eleven times greater. Yet

Nevada will have, in the U. S. Senate, and in its Legislature, as much to say as to whether New York shall have Universal Suffrage as New York will have in the same bodies, on the proposed amendments. This scheme utterly ignores the just and popular principle of 'Home Rule.' But it does more, it breaks down the cardinal doctrine of 'Majority Rule.' If the Congress submits the proposed scheme to the Legislatures, thirty-six of them can make it effective. A combination of the so-called Suffrage States, with enough small States to make thirty-six, can be made, that will have a combined population of near TEN MILLION LESS than the combined population of the twelve larger States. In other words, this scheme of submission will make it possible for a minority to defeat a TEN MILLION majority, and the MINORITY may be said to have won by THREE TO ONE, or by a three-fourths majority.

"Therefore, we protest against the submission of the proposed Amendment: it is UNDEMOCRATIC; it is UNJUST; it is not a 'Square Deal.'"

BUCKEYE.

The Right of Women to Unequal Rights

(San Francisco Chronicle, Dec., 1913)

"WOMEN from the beginning of time have hesitated about revealing their age, and this unwritten right of women to that secret may as well be observed," said Judge Owens of Chicago, in ruling that candidates for electoral offices could qualify without confessing to their years. In the opinion of this jurist it is sufficient if an applicant of the gentler sex is prepared to declare herself of "lawful age."

Aspiring to no public rights of importance a woman had the privilege of regarding her years as a personal, private and almost sacred matter.

But the suffragist has changed all that. She demands rights, and is not always mindful of the truth that every right implies a corresponding duty.

With every right goes an obligation to respect the conditions by which it is safeguarded.

Men were required to reveal their ages when registering as voters, not as a matter of idle curiosity on the part of electoral officials, but as a means of identification and the prevention of repeating. An equally valid reason holds in the case of women voters. Jane Doe of 21 would never think of personating Jane Doe of 41 if the years were recorded; she might not be so hesitant if there was nothing to show who is who. The suggestion may seem ungallant, but is it not one of the minor penalties that should be attached to the right of voting?

Colorado Suffragists Seek Political "Plums"

THE definition of a Suffragist is said to be "one who believes in the ballot as the only reasonable method of effecting reforms, making progress, uplifting the race, bettering the world, etc."

However, we find no reference to altruistic motives in this clipping from the leading newspaper of Denver (*Rocky Mountain News*, Dec., 1913), where women have voted for twenty years.

The work of the Suffrage Association of that State for 1914 we learn will be to get "jobs," political pie, for as many Suffragists as possible.

A little message flitted from Denver to President Woodrow Wilson last night. It sprouted in the esoteric recesses of the Colorado Equal Suffrage Association. It sounded the note of the Denver suffragists' New Year resolutions.

It asked that some Democratic woman of this State be given the secretaryship of the United States Senate Committee on Suffrage. (And, by the way, the position pays \$2,500 a year.)

The telegram was signed by thirty or forty Denver suffragists. The message was sent "care of Senator Charles Thomas."

All of which discloses that the suffragists are still busy in their demands for Federal and other positions and leads to the discovery of the suffragists' resolutions for 1914.

Some of the suffragists made New Year resolutions last night.

Former State "Legislatress" Alma V. Lafferty's leaf turns to this motto:

"I will give all my efforts to get the women of the State to stand together. This unity is demanded first. Then they will get the positions for which they ask. This is, too, the ultimate aim of such unity."

This turn for her new leaf is taken by Mrs. Mary C. C. Bradford, President of the Colorado Equal Suffrage Association:

"I resolve that I will do all I can to help the women of other States attain that which the women of Colorado have enjoyed so long. Also, I resolve to work for the recognition of women in the dispensing of Federal, State and city positions."

WITHIN the last two weeks the suffragists have repeatedly asserted that Senator Root had been recently converted to woman suffrage.

Senator Root has just made the following statement:—"I have not changed my opposition to woman suffrage in the least; on the contrary, observation and reflection have strongly confirmed the adverse opinion which I expressed twenty years ago."

The Nervous Factor In Woman's Health

(From *London Daily Mail*, Nov. 13, 1913)

DR. T. CLAYE SHAW read a paper on "The Nervous Factor in Woman's Health" at the Institute of Hygiene, London, yesterday, before an audience composed mainly of women. Dr. Shaw, who is a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians and an authority on medico-psychology, said:

"Women certainly have advanced during the last few years in physical development. Has there been a reciprocity between the mental and bodily development? The type of woman has changed. She has become harder in feature and more wrinkled; her complexion is affected by her outdoor life; she is more independent; she has less reverence for authority, has fewer home interests, and is less of a stay-at-home.

"If, as it seems to be, the woman's desire is to be what men are and to do what men do, then I think I can see some reason for the present style of dress in women—in its shortness and tightness to display the figure.

"The happily-married woman has a new and complete life of her own. She gets altruism, patriotism, patience, self-denial, responsibility and a wider view of life. Compare the life of the woman with a purposely restricted family with that of the poorer woman who does not interfere with the natural plan of her life, and who never suffers from nerves nor neurasthenia. How bad, too, it is for the pampered one child. See, too, how the balance of the population is upset by those women who try to coerce nature.

"Tennyson said, 'The woman's cause is man's—they stand or fall together.' What is the woman's cause? Remember that you never can be men, and that your main function is different and is essentially bound up with the training of the family. The ideals in the sexes are different. Man's ideal is his work; woman's ideal is herself and family. She resents any separation from the recognition that she is the embodiment of what is good. Do not go on strike because you have not the same commercial value in everything—in some things you have more value, but in others you have not the same strength to make you equal. You have no monopoly of obstinacy; for men, rightly or wrongly, think they have their *propria*, and they will not give them up.

"Do you think that if women obtained the suffrage they would be satisfied? There are some who will not be satisfied till they have brought about the abasement of man, and have erected a false and futile Frankenstein in his place. Even then they would regret it. Men, rightly or wrongly, think that they have the prominent part in life to

play, and they are not cowards. They accept the responsibility. You will not succeed in making them think otherwise, nor would you respect them if they did. Play the game!

"If men are afraid of anything it is that this unrest, these new interests, this sex war, will destroy the true womanhood, the gentleness, the persuasiveness, the child-fostering care, the mind-cleanliness, of the sex, and will make them impossible in the social system."

Unfair Press Reports Made by Suffragist

TO THE EDITOR OF THE PUBLIC LEDGER: SIR: I have noticed with regret in your esteemed publication the very meagre, inaccurate account of the hearing in Washington, given before the Committee of the House on Rules, to the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

It is surprising that a woman of the known ability of Mrs. Ida Husted Harper should furnish you with so prejudiced a statement of the hearing. It does not impress me as good newspaper work. Mrs. Harper, as far as I know, was the only person who seems to have considered Chairman Henry sarcastic. It was the universal comment among the men and women of our delegation that Chairman Henry and the committee were at all times most courteous and polite. The questions they asked were to draw out further information on some points; not to make sarcastic comments.

At the opening of the hearing Mrs. Dodge stated that Chairman Henry asked that our speakers should not confine themselves to arguments opposing the appointment of a committee on Woman Suffrage, but should cover the whole ground of our opposition. He stated that they were familiar with the suffrage arguments, but were not familiar with the arguments on our side. Chairman Henry then stated that this was still the wish of the committee.

I noticed, further, among Mrs. Harper's statements, first, that we marched to the Capitol in a body. This is not true.

Second, that Joseph Gilpin Pyle sent his offspring, a lad of 18 years, to read his paper to the committee. In presenting Mr. Pyle's paper Mrs. Dodge stated that Mr. Pyle regretted he could not be present to read the paper himself and it would be read by a representative of the Pennsylvania Men's League Opposed to Woman Suffrage. The reader of the paper is a member of the Philadelphia bar and an honor man of the University of Pennsylvania. When Suffragists are obliged to resort to this kind of work it means they are hard hit.

D. N. C. BROCK,
President Pennsylvania Association
Opposed to Woman Suffrage.
Philadelphia, December 6, 1913.

Sex Plays Condemned as Lowering Standards

(N. Y. *Sun*, Dec. 11, 1913)

PRACTICALLY every speaker last night at a meeting of the Society of Sanitary and Moral Prophylaxis, held in the New York Academy of Medicine Building, condemned the sex plays that hold the boards at the local theatres. Even those speakers who approved of sex plays in the abstract joined in the general disapproval of the present offerings.

"The difference between the modern sex play and those of former times," said Julius Eckert Goodman, the first speaker, "is that the plays now turn from psychology to sex. We want our children to know facts, but we want them to learn them from authoritative sources. Nothing can be more pernicious than half truths, and that is the trouble with the modern sex play. It has come to a place now when a halt should be called.

"It may be said that the new order is doing away with the double standard of morals. If that is so, it is doing it not by raising the men, but by lowering the standard of the women. A thousand plays like 'Damaged Goods' would not cleanse an impure mind," said Joyce Kilmer.

Hans von Kaltenborn, the last on the list, said that, as far as his experience as a dramatic critic went the sex plays were utterly useless as a means of teaching a moral lesson. He hoped that physicians might be asked to take up the psychological and physiological discussion of the power suggestion and the evil effects they have observed that follow from sex plays.

Mormon Origin of Woman Suffrage

THE desire of the Mormon Church to perpetuate itself, its doctrine of polygamy and its authority, unmolested, is said to be a propelling impulse of Woman Suffrage in the United States.

The Mormon powers saw that their men with an average of three wives each would poll four votes to the family, and every vote would, according to precedent, be cast as the head of the church dictated.

The Gentiles, on the other hand, could muster but two votes per family.

A Mormon legislature, fearing the loss of the balance of power forecasted by the Gentile immigration into Utah, passed the Woman Suffrage bill.

Arthur Brisbane says he favors woman's suffrage because "it would increase the ignorant vote." One would scarcely expect to see ye editor so magnanimous toward a potential rival.—*Boston Transcript*.

NOTES AND COMMENT

THE *Woman's Journal* greets with derision any likelihood that Suffragists imitate the "Petroleuses" of the French commune. How does it explain the following incident? Does it heartily condemn these patriotic "citizenesses"? Or does it excuse and support them?

(News Item)

Two young women, who appeared in court without shoes or stockings, and who refused their names, were remanded at Cheltenham on a charge of setting fire to Alstone Lawn, an unoccupied mansion, belonging to Colonel de Sales la Ferriere.

The women, who had their hair hanging loosely over their shoulders, and had declined offers of footgear, were described on the charge-sheet as "Miss Red" and "Miss Black."

The staircase of the house, which was burnt out, was found to have been soaked with paraffin, and imprints of stockinged feet were traced leading from the fire to a window opening into the grounds. The women had been seen in the neighborhood, and a search of the town resulted in the arrest of the defendants, whose stockings were saturated with paraffin.

SENATOR HELEN RING ROBINSON, of the Colorado Legislature, speaking at Cazenovia, N. Y., said:

I want to talk more about the home. That is my subject, "The Home and the Ballot Box." What is a home? Let me tell you to-night about a little home I saw only two months ago in Colorado Springs, that most beautiful city in America, I was just about to say, but a man told me to-night that Cazenovia was the most beautiful place in America, so I will be content to say the second most beautiful, just east of the great mountains and west of the sun. I was visiting there. We had a storm the night before. I was in the end of my friend's garden, and the majestic scenery was wonderful over which the sun's rays were hovering, and as I walked I came upon a little home out there in the garden, a hen with a late hatched brood of younglings, and home lore was in the air. For some reason the little hen had gathered the young under her wing; it may have been the frost in the air, making a home there, making of herself a home. Did I say she had gathered them all under? No; all but one little fluff of animated feathers which had perched on her back and kept pecking away at her feathers, and the mother would glance at us with a look in her eyes that made me think of the Sistine Madonna, and then cluck, cluck. Oh, the home-making mother!

ADVANCED Feminists who are in a consistent line with the movement would like to have "with all my worldly goods I thee endow" expurgated from the marriage service. (Who would not be a man-Suffragist?) It has always been said that woman's nature was self-sacrificing, but it appears that feminist nature is not only self-sacrificing—it is actually *self-immolating*. It would never surprise us to hear that the Suffragettes with Sylvia at their head were leading a new movement for the revival of the Suttee (which the English government abolished by drastic laws, drastically enforced in India) or the worship of Juggernaut. Yet these naive women think they can change the female nature—a thing inherent and unchangeable. All they can do is to give it an insane direction. The normal woman sacrifices herself willingly with eyes wide open for those she loves. She does not quarrel with her woman nature, but fulfills it consciously. The hysterical woman is not less sacrificing but, to use the words of Christabel Pankhurst, she sacrifices herself for "she knows not what." The essential nature of the sex does not change even when they are misled, as at present. We see Suffragists today ready to sacrifice all their health, happiness and privileges so that men may have no burdens and women may bear more. Truly:

"For a cap and bauble our lives are pay,
Jewels we buy with a whole soul's tasking.
It is only Heaven that is given away,
It is only God may be had for the asking."

Senator Helen Ring Robinson of Colorado says she does most of her house-keeping at the polls. It must be a singularly vague and sketchy form of housekeeping. Does Senator Robinson carry out the general reversal of the practical method by reserving politics for the home? If she is like other active politicians, she probably does most of her housekeeping at a convenient restaurant.

Miss Gershanick, lecturing on Suffrage, denied that there is any such thing as "mother instinct." How does Miss Gershanick know, we venture to inquire?

That many women are devoid of it no one in the face of accumulated evidence could deny. That the noblest type of woman possesses it, we solemnly assert.

THE annual luncheon of the Massachusetts Anti-Suffrage Organization brought out over 1000 members, and was a brilliant and successful opening of the new year's work. Mrs. James M. Codman presided.

Thirty-five new branches have been inaugurated since last April, making a total of 78 branches. Mr. Edward S. Martin, an

Editor of "Life," read a paper on the Feminist-Suffrage movement, and Mrs. Josephine Daskam Bacon spoke on the general subject of Anti-Suffrage.

Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, the National President, urged the need of a still larger membership.

The extent of the Anti-Suffrage activity in Massachusetts is best illustrated by a list of the meetings held during November and December and January by the Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women.

The locations of the meetings and the dates follow:

	1913
Waltham	Nov. 3
Groton	" 6
Boston Headquarters (tea).....	" 7
Fall River.....	" 14
Boston Headquarters (tea).....	" 14
Boston	" 18
Brookline	" 18
Weston	" 19
Boston	" 19
Branch Chairmen's Meeting (Boston)	" 20
Mendon	" 20
Cambridge	" 20
Winchester	" 21
Lincoln	" 24
Melrose	" 25
Chestnut Hill Club House.....	" 25
D. A. R. (Westminster).....	Dec. 3
Dedham	" 8
Worcester Economic Club.....	" 8
Ware	" 9
North Andover Alliance.....	" 11
Worcester, Levana Club.....	" 13
West Roxbury.....	" 17
Wollaston	" 18
Natick Women's Club.....	" 19
	1914
Medford	Jan. 2
New Bedford.....	" 6
Cambridge Study Club.....	" 6
Boston	" 6
Malden	" 7
Winchester	" 7
Brookline Study Club.....	" 8
Boston Headquarters (tea).....	" 8
Weston	" 13
Lawrence Woman's Club.....	" 13
Milton Study Club.....	" 14
North Billerica 1900 Club.....	" 15
Boston Headquarters (tea).....	" 15
Mattapanock Woman's Club.....	" 17
Boston	" 20
Boston Headquarters (tea).....	" 22
Newburyport	" 22
Brookline Study Club.....	" 22
Newton Centre.....	" 27
Boston Economic Club.....	" 27
Brockton Economic Club.....	" 28
Boston Headquarters (tea).....	" 29

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FOUNDED 1895

Printed matter can be secured by application to the Secretary at the office of the Association, 37 West 39th Street, New York City.

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How Women Can Best Serve the State *Mrs. Barclay Hazard*
The Blank Cartridge Ballot *Rossiter Johnson*
Why I Am Opposed to Woman Suffrage *Hon. Harold J. Hinman*
Address (Made before Constitutional Convention, 1894) *Hon. Elihu Root*
Taxation and Suffrage *Frederick Dwight*
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Woman Suffrage *Carl Schurz*
Suffragists Desert Philanthropy, etc.
Woman Suffrage and the Equal Guardianship Law
Dodgers

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Woman's Rights vs. Woman Suffrage *Mrs. A. J. George*
Equality of Suffrage Means the Debasement, etc. *John R. Dos Passos*
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Everett P. Wheeler
Questionnaire
Women and The Vote *Everett P. Wheeler*

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On Suffrage (0.5) *C. K. Chesterton*
Votes for Women (10c.) *Frederic Harrison*
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The Business of Being a Woman (\$1.50) *Ida Tarbell*
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Mrs. Rossiter Johnson

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